HIS MAIESTIES ANSWER,

To a Booke, intituled,

The Declaration, or Remonstrance of the Lords and COMMONS, *of the* 19. *of May.*

1642.

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His Majesties Answer to a Booke intituled, *The Declaration, or Remonstrance of the Lords and Commons*, of the 19. of May.

IF We could be weary of taking any paines for the satisfaction of Our People, and to undeceive them of those specious mischievous Infusions, which are dayly instilled into them, to shake and corrupt their loyalty and affection to Us and Our Government, after so full and ample Declaration of our Selfe and Intentions, and so faire and satisfactory answers to all such matters as have beene objected to Us by a major part present of both Houses of Parliament, We might well give over this labour of our Pen, and sit still, till it shall please God so to enlighten the Affections and Understandings of Our good Subjects on Our behalfe (which We doubt not but that in his good time he will doe) that they may see our sufferings are their sufferings. But, since in lead of applying themselves to the Method proposed by Us, of making such solid particular Propositions as might establish a good Understanding betweene Us, or of following the advice of our Councell of *Scotland* (with whom they communicate their affaires) in forbearing all meanes that may make the breach wider and wound deeper, they have chosen to pursue Us with new Reproaches, or rather to continue and improve the old, by adding and varying little Circumstances, and Language, in many matters formerly urged by them, and fully answered by Us, We prevailed with Our Selfe, upon very mature and particular consideration of it; to answer the late Printed Booke, intituled, *A Declaration or Remonstrance of the Lords and Commons*, which was Ordered the nineteenth of *May* last, to be Printed and published, hoping then that they would put Us to no more of this trouble, but that that should have beene the last of such a nature they would have communicated to Our People, and that they would not, as they have done since, thought fit to assault us with a Newer Declaration, indeed of a very new Nature and Learning, which must have another Answer. And We doubt not but that Our good Subjects, in short time, will be so well instructed in the differences, and mistakings betweene Us, that they will plainely discerne, without resigning their reason and understanding to Our Prerogative, or the infallibility of a now major part of both Houses of Parliament (infected by a few malignant spirits) where the fault is.

Though We shall with humility and alacrity be alwayes forward to acknowledge the infinite Mercy and Providence of Almighty God, vouchsafed so many severall wayes to Our Selfe and this Nation, yet since God himselfe doth

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doth not allow, that we ſhould fancy and create dangers to our Selfe, that We might manifeſt and publiſh his Mercy in our deliverance, We muſt profeſſe We doe not know thoſe deliverances mentioned in the beginning of that Declaration, from ſo many wicked Plots and Deſignes ſince the beginning of this Parliament, which, if they had taken effect, would have brought ruine and deſtruction upon this Kingdome. We well know the great labour and skill hath beene uſed to amate and affright Our good Subjects with feares, and apprehenſions of Plots and Conſpiracies, the ſeverall Pamphlets publiſhed, and Letters ſcattered up and downe full of ſuch ridiculous contemptible Animadverſions to that purpoſe, as (though they found, for what end God knowes, very unuſuall countenance) no ſober man would be moved with them: But We muſt confeſſe, We have never beene able to informe Our Selfe of any ſuch pernicious formed Deſigne againſt the Peace of this Kingdome, ſince the beginning of this Parliament, as is mentioned in that Declaration, or might be any warrant to thoſe great Feares both Our Houſes of Parliament ſeemed to be tranſported with, but We have great cauſe to beleeve more miſchiefe and danger hath beene raiſed and begotten to the diſturbance of this Kingdome, then cured or prevented by thoſe Feares and Iealouſies: And therefore however the rumour and diſcourſe of Plots and Conſpiracies may have beene neceſſary to the deſignes of particular men, they ſhall doe well not to pay any falſe devotions to Almighty God, who diſcernes whether Our dangers are reall or pretended.

For the bringing up of the Army to *London*, as We have heretofore (by no other direction then the teſtimony of a good conſcience) called God to witneſſe We never had, or knew of any ſuch Reſolution, ſo upon the view of the Depoſitions now publiſhed with that Declaration, it is not evident to Us there was ever ſuch a Deſigne, unleſſe very looſe Diſcourſe or Argument be inſtance enough of ſuch a Deſigne: And it is apparent, that what was ſaid of it, was neere three moneths before the diſcovery to both Houſes of Parliament, ſo that if there were any danger threatned that way, it vaniſhed without any reſiſtance or prevention, by the Wiſdome, Power, or Authority of them.

It ſeemes the intention of that Declaration (whatſoever other end it hath) is to Anſwer a Declaration they received from Us, in Anſwer to that which was preſented to Us at *New-market*, the ninth of *March* laſt; and likewiſe to Our Anſwer to the Petition of both Houſes, preſented to Us at *Yorke*, the twenty ſixt of *March* laſt. But before that Declaration fals upon any particulars of Our ſaid Declaration or Anſwer, it complaines, That the heads of the Malignant Party have with much Art and Induſtry adviſed Us to ſuffer divers unjuſt ſcandals and Imputations upon the Parliament, to be publiſhed in our Name, whereby they might make it odious to the People, and by their helpe deſtroy it: But not inſtancing in any one Scandall or imputation ſo publiſhed by Us, We are ſtill to ſeeke for the Heads of that Malignant Party. But Our good Subjects will eaſily underſtand, That if We were guilty of that Aſperſion,

ſion, We muſt not onely be active in raiſing the ſcandall, but paſſive in the Miſchiefe begotten by that Scandall, We being an eſſentiall part of the Parliament: and We hope the juſt defence of Our Selfe, and Our Authority, and the neceſſary vindication of Our Innocence and Juſtice, from the Imputation laid on Us by a major part, then preſent, of either, or both Houſes, ſhall no mor. be called a ſcandall upon the Parliament, then the opinion of ſuch a part be reputed an Act of Parliament: And We hope Our good Subj &ts will not be long miſ-led by that common expreſſion in all the Declarations (wherein they uſurpe the word Parliament, and apply it to countenance any Reſolution or Vote) ſome few have a minde to make, by calling it, *The Reſolution of Parliament*, which can never be without Our conſent; Neither can the Vote of either, or both Houſes, make a greater alteration in the Lawes of this Kingdome (ſo ſolemnely made by the advice of their Predeceſſours, with the concurrence of Us and Our Anceſtours) either by commanding or inhibiting any thing (beſides the knowne Rule of the Law) then Our ſingle Direction or Mandate can doe, to which We doe not aſcribe the Authority.

But that Declaration informes Our People that the Malignant party hath drawne Us into the Northerne parts farre from Our Parliament. It might more truely and properly have ſaid, That it hath driven, then drawne Us hither. For We confeſſe, Our Journey hither (for which We have no other reaſon to be ſorry, then with reference to the cauſe of it) was onely forced upon Us by the true Malignant Party which contrived and countenanced thoſe barbarous Tumults and other ſeditious Circumſtances of which We have ſo often complained, and hereafter ſhall ſay more, and which indeed threatens ſo much danger to our Perſon, and laid ſo much ſcandall upon the whole Priviledge and Dignity of Parliament, that We wonder it can be mentioned without Bluſhes or Indignation: But of that anon. But why the Malignant Party ſhould be charged with cauſing a Preſſe to be tranſported to *Yorke*, We cannot imagine, neither have any Papers or Writings iſſued from thence to Our knowledge, but what have beene extorted from Us by ſuch provocations as have not beene before offered to a King. And no doubt it will appeare a moſt triviall and fond Exception, when all Preſſes are open to vent whatſoever they thinke fit to ſay to the people, (a thing unwarranted by former cuſtome) that We ſhould not make uſe of all lawfull meanes to publiſh Our juſt and neceſſary Anſwers thereunto. As for the Authority of the great Seale (though We doe not know that it hath beene neceſſary to things of this nature) the ſame ſhall be more frequently uſed hereafter, as occaſion ſhall require, to which We make no doubt the greater and better part of Our Privy Councell will concurre, and whoſe Advice we are reſolved to follow, as farre as it ſhall be agreeable to the good and welfare of the Kingdome.

Before that Declaration vouchſafes to inſiſt on any particulars, it is pleaſed to cenſure both Our Declaration and Anſwer, to be filled with harſh

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Cenſures, and cauſeleſſe Charges upon the Parliament, (ſtill miſ-applying the word Parliament to the Vote of both Houſes) concerning which they reſolve to give ſatisfaction to the Kingdome, ſince they find it very difficult to ſatisfie Us. If, as in the uſage of the word Parliament, they have left Us out of their thoughts; ſo by the word Kingdome, they intend to exclude all Our people, who are out of their walls: (for that's growne another phraſe of the Time, the Vote of the major part of both houſes, and ſometimes of one, is now called, *The Reſolution of the whole Kingdome*) We beleeve it may not be hard to give ſatisfaction to themſelves; otherwiſe We are confident (and Our confidence proceeds from the uprightneſſe of our owne Conſcience) they will never be able ſo to ſever the affections of us and our Kingdome, that what cannot be ſatisfaction to the one ſhall be to the other. Neither will the Stile of Humble, and Faithfull, and telling Us, That they will make Us a Great and Glorious King, in their Petitions and Remonſtrances, ſo deceive Our good Subjects, that they will paſſe over the Reproaches, Threats, and Menaces they are ſtuffed with, which ſure could not be more gently reprehended by Us, then by ſaying, Their expreſſions were different from the uſuall Language to Princes, which that Declaration tels you, We had no occaſion to ſay. But We beleeve, whoſoever lookes over that Declaration preſented to Us at *Newmarket*, to which Ours was an Anſwer, will find the Language throughout it, to be ſo unuſuall, that, before this Parliament, it could never be parallell'd, whiles under pretence of juſtifying their feares, they give ſo much countenance to the diſcourſe of the Rebels of *Ireland*, as if they had a mind Our good Subjects ſhould give credit to it: Otherwiſe, being warranted by the ſame evidence, which they have ſince publiſhed, they would have as well declared, That thoſe Rebels publikely threaten the rooting out the name of the Engliſh, and that they will have a King of their owne, and no longer be governed by Us; as that they ſay, That they do nothing but by Our Authority, and that they call themſelves, The Queenes Army. And therefore we have great reaſon to complaine of the abſence of Juſtice and Integrity in that declaration; beſides the unfitneſſe of other expreſſions. Neither did We miſtake the Subſtance or Logicke of the Meſſage to Us at *Theobalds*, concerning the *Militia*, which was no other, and is ſtated to be no other (even by that Declaration which reproved Us) then a plaine threat, That if We refuſed to joyne with them, they would make a Law without Us: nor hath the Practice ſince that time been other, which will never be juſtified to the moſt ordinary (if not partiall) underſtandings, by the meere averring it to be according to the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome, without giving any direction, that the moſt cunning and learned men in the Lawes, may be able to find thoſe foundations. And We muſt appeale to all the World, Whether they might not with as much Juſtice, and by as much Law, have ſeized upon the eſtate of every Member of both Houſes, who diſſented from that pretended Ordinance (which much the major part of the Houſe of Peeres did two or

three ſeverall times) as they have invaded that power of Ours over the *Militia*, becauſe We (upon Reaſons they have not ſo much as pretended to anſwer) refuſed to conſent to that Propoſition: And if no better effects then loſſe of Time and hinderance of the publike Affaires have beene found by Our Anſwers and Replies, let all good men judge, by whoſe default, and whoſe want of duty ſuch effects have beene: For as our end (indeed onely end) in thoſe Anſwers and Replies hath beene, The ſettlement and compoſure of publike Affaires, ſo We are aſſured, and moſt men do beleeve, That if that due Regard and Reverence had beene given to our Words, and that Conſent and Obedience to our counſels, which we did expect, there had beene before this time a cheerfull calme upon the face of the whole Kingdome, every man enjoying his owne, with all poſſible Peace and Security that can be imagined, which ſurely thoſe men do not deſire, who (after all thoſe Acts of Juſtice and Favour paſſed by Us this Parliament, all thoſe affronts and ſufferings endured and undergone by Us) thinke fit ſtill to reproach us with Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct-Money, and other things ſo abundantly declared, as that Declaration it ſelfe confeſſes in the generall Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdome, publiſhed in November laſt, which we wonder to find now avowed to be the Remonſtrance of both Houſes, and which We aſſure was preſented to Us only by the Houſe of Commons, & did never, and We are confident, in that time, could never have paſſed the Houſe of Peeres; the Concurrence and Authority of which was not then thought neceſſary. Shall We beleeve thoſe Reproaches to be the voyce of the Kingdome of *England*? That all Our loving Subjects eaſed, refreſhed, ſtrengthened, and abundantly ſatisfied with Our Acts of Grace and Favour towards them are willing to be involved in theſe unthankfull expreſſions? Wee muſt appeale to the Thankes and Acknowledgements publiſhed in the Petitions of moſt of the Counties of *England*; to the teſtimony and thankes Wee have received from both Houſes of Parliament, how ſeaſonable, how agreeable this uſage of us is to Our merit, or their former expreſſions.

We have not at all ſwarved or departed from Our Reſolution, or words in the beginning of this Parliament: We ſaid, We were reſolved to put Our Selfe freely and cleerly upon the Love and Affection of Our Engliſh Subjects, and We ſay ſo ſtill, as farre as concernes *England*. And We call Almighty God to witneſſe all Our Complaints and Jealouſies, which have never beene cauſeleſſe, nor of Our Houſes of Parliament (but of ſome few Schiſmaticall, Factious, and Ambitious Spirits, and upon grounds, as ſhort time, Wee feare, will juſtifie the World) Our deniall of the *Militia*, Our abſenting Our Selfe from *London*, have beene the effects of an upright and faith full affection to Our Engliſh ſubjects, that we may be able (through all the inconveniences We are compelled to wraſtle with) at laſt to preſerve and reſtore their Religion, Lawes, and liberties unto them.

Since the proceeding againſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members, is

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ſtill looked upon, and ſo often preſſed, as ſo great an advantage againſt Us, that no retractation made by Us, nor no Actions ſince that time committed againſt Us, and the Law of the Land, under pretence of vindication of Priviledge, can ſatisfie the Contrivers of that Declaration, but that they would have Our good Subjects beleeve, The Accuſation of thoſe ſixe Members muſt be a plot for the breaking the necke of the Parliament, (a ſtrange arrogance, if any of thoſe Members had the penning of that Declaration) and that it is ſo often urged againſt Us, as if by that ſingle caſuall miſtake of Ours (in forme onely) We had forfeited all Duty, Credit, and Allegiance from our people: We muſt without endeavouring to excuſe that, which in truth was an errour (Our going to the Houſe of Commons) give Our people a cleare and full narration of the matter of Fact, aſſuring Our Selfe that Our good Subjects will not finde Our carriage in that buſineſſe ſuch as hath beene reported.

When We reſolved upon ſuch grounds, as when they ſhall be publiſhed will ſatisfie the world, That it was fit for Our owne Safety, and Honour, and the Peace of the Kingdone, to proceed againſt thoſe perſons, though We well know there was no degree of Priviledge in that caſe, yet (to ſhew Our deſire of correſpondency with the two Houſes of Parliament) Wee choſe, rather then to apprehend their perſons by the ordinary Miniſters of Juſtice (which, according to the Opinion and Practice of former times, We might have done) to command our Atturney Generall to acquaint our Houſe of Peeres with Our intention, and the generall matters of Our charge (which was yet more particular then a meere Accuſation) and to proceed accordingly, and at the ſame time ſent a ſworne Servant, a Sergeant at Armes to Our Houſe of Commons, to acquaint them, That We did accuſe, and intended to proſecute the five Members of that Houſe for high Treaſon, and did require that their perſons might be ſecured in cuſtody: This we did, not onely to ſhew that we intended not to violate or invade their Priviledges, but to uſe more Ceremony towards them, then We then conceived in Juſtice might be required of Us; and expected at leaſt ſuch an anſwer as might informe Us, if We were out of the way; But We received none at all; Onely in the inſtant, without offering any thing of their Priviledges to Our conſideration, an Order was made (and the ſame night publiſhed in Print) That if any perſon whatſoever ſhould offer to Arreſt the perſon of any Member of that Houſe, without firſt acquainting that Houſe therewith, and receiving further order from that Houſe, That it ſhould bee lawfull for ſuch Members, or any perſon to aſſiſt them, and to ſtand upon his or their Guard of Defence, and to make reſiſtance according to the Proteſtation taken to defend the Priviledges of Parliament: and this was the firſt time that We heard the Proteſtation might be wreſted to ſuch a ſenſe; or that in any Caſe (though of the moſt undoubted and unqueſtionable Priviledge) it might be lawfull for any Perſon to reſiſt, and uſe violence againſt a publike

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Miniſter of Juſtice, armed with lawfull Authority; though we well knew, that even ſuch a Miniſter might be puniſhed for executing ſuch Authority. Upon viewing this Order We muſt confeſſe We were ſomewhat amazed, having never ſeene or heard of the like, though We had knowne Members of either Houſe committed without ſo much Formality as We had uſed, and upon Crimes of a farre inferiour nature to thoſe We had ſuggeſted; and having no courſe propoſed to Us for Our proceeding, We were upon the matter onely told, That againſt thoſe Perſons We were not to proceed at all; That they were above Our reach, or the reach of the Law, it was not eaſie for Us to reſolve what to doe: If We imployed Our Miniſters of Juſtice in the uſuall way for their apprehenſion (who without doubt would not have refuſed to execute Our lawfull Commands) We ſaw what Reſiſtance and Oppoſition was like to be made, which very probably might coſt ſome bloud; If Wee ſat ſtill and deſiſted upon this terrour, We ſhould at the beſt have confeſſed Our owne want of power, and the weakneſſe of the Law: In this ſtraight We put on a ſudden Reſolution to try whether our owne preſence, and a cleare diſcovery of Our Intentions (which haply might not have beene ſo well underſtood) could remove thoſe doubts, and prevent thoſe inconveniences which ſeemed to have beene threatned; and thereupon We reſolved to goe in Our owne Perſon to our Houſe of Commons, which We diſcovered not till the very minute of Our going, when We ſent out that Our Servants, and ſuch Gentlemen as were then in Our Court, ſhould attend Us to *Weſtminſter*; but giving them expreſſe command (as We have expreſſed in Our Anſwer to the Ordinance) that no Accidents or Provocation ſhould draw them to any ſuch Action as might imply a purpoſe of force in Us, and Our Selfe (requiring thoſe of Our Traine not to come within the doore) went into the Houſe of Commons: the bare doing of which We did not then conceive would have beene thought more a breach of Priviledge, then if We had gone to the Houſe of Peeres, and ſent for them to come to Us, which is the uſuall cuſtome. We uſed the beſt expreſſions We could to aſſure them how far We were from any Intention of violating their Priviledges, That We intended to proceed Legally and Speedily againſt the perſons We had accuſed, and deſired therefore, if they were in the Houſe, that they might be delivered to Us, or if abſent, that ſuch courſe might be taken for their forth-comming as might ſatisfie Our juſt demands; and ſo We departed, having no other purpoſe of force, if they had beene in the Houſe, then We have before proteſted, before God, in Our Anſwer to the Ordinance. You have an account of Our part of this Story fully, let our people judge freely of it: What followed on their part (though this Declaration tels you, it could not withdraw any part of their Reverence and Obedience from us; it may be any part of theirs it did not) We ſhall have too much cauſe hereafter to informe the world.

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There will bee no end of the Discourse, and upbraiding Vs with evill Councellors, if upon Our constant denial of knowing any, they will not vouchsafe to inform Vs of them; and after eight Months amasing the Kingdome with the expectation of a discovery of a Malignant Party, and of evill Councellors; they will not at last name any, nor describe them: Let the Actions and Lives of men be examined, who have contrived, councelled, Actually consented to grieve and burden Our people, and if such be about Vs, or any against whom any notorious malicious Crime can be proved, if We shelter and protect any such, let Our injustice be published to the world; but till that be done particularly and manifestly, (for We shall never conclude any man upon a bare generall Vote of the Major part of either, or both Houses, till it be evident that major part must bee without passion or Affection) Wee must looke upon the charge this Declaration puts on Vs, of cherishing & countenancing a discontented Party of the Kingdom against them as a heavier and unjust taxe upon Our Iustice and Honour, then any we have, or can lay upon the Framers of that Declaration.

And now, to countenance those unhansome Expressions, whereby usually they have implyed Our connivance at, or want of Zeale against the Rebellion of *Ireland*, (so odious to all good men) they have found a new way of exprobation; That the Proclamation against those bloody Traytors, came not out till the beginning of January, though that Rbellion broke out in October, and then by speciall Command from Vs, but fourty Copies were appointed to be Printed. Tis well known where Wee were at that time when that Rebellion brake forth, in Scotland: That We immediately, from thence, recommended the care of that businesse to both Houses of Parliament here, after we had provided for all fitting supplies from Our Kingdome of Scotland, that after Our returne hither Wee observed all those forms for that Service, which Wee were advised to by Our Councell of Ireland, or both Houses of Parliament here: And if no Proclamation issued out sooner (of which for the present Wee are not certaine, but thinke that others before that time were issued by Our directions) it was, because the Lords Iustices of the Kingdome desired them no sooner; and when they did, the number they desired was but twenty, which they advised might be signed by Vs; which Wee, for expedition of the Service commanded to bee printed (a circumstance not required by them) and thereupon We Signed more of them then Our Iustices desired: All which was very well known to some Members of one or both Houses of Parliament, who have the more to answer, if they forbore to expresse it at the passing of this Declaration; and if they did expresse it, We have the greater reason to complaine, that so envious an Aspersion Would be cast on us to Our People, when they knew well how to answer their own Objection.

What that complaint is against the Parliament, put forth in Our Name, which is such an evidence and countenance to the Rebels, and speakes the same language of the Parliament, which the Rebels doe; We cannot understand. All Our an-

swers and Declarations have been, and are owned by Vs, and have beene attested under Our own hand; If any other had been published in Our Name, and without Our Authority, it would be easie for both Houses of Parliament to discover & apprehend the Authors: And Wee wish, that whosoever was trusted with the Drawing and penning of that Declaration, had no more Authority or cunning to impose upon, or deceive a major part of those Votes by which it passed, then any man hath to prevaile with Vs, to publish in Our Name any thing but the sence & Resolution of Our own Heart: Or that the contriver of that Declaration could with as good a Conscience call God to witnesse, that all His Counsells and Endeavours have been free from all private aimes, Personall Respects, or Passions whatsoever, as We have done and doe, That Wee never had or knew of such Resolutions of bringing up the army to London. And since this new device is found out in stead of answering Our Reasons, or satisfying Our just demands, to blaste Our Declarations and answers, as if they were not Our own (a bold senceless imputation) We are sure that every answer and Declaration published by Vs, is much more Our own, then any one of those bold, threatning, and reproachfull Petitions and Remonstrances are the acts of either, or of both Houses. And if the Penner of that Declaration had been carefull of the Trust reposed in him, hee would never have denied (and thereupon found fault with Our just Indignation) in the Text or Margent, that We had never been charged with the intention of any Force, and that in their whole Declaration, there is no word tending to such a reproach; The contrary whereof is so evident, that we are in expresse termes charged in that Declaration, That We sent them gracious Messages, when, with Our Privity, bringing up the army was in agitation. And even in this Declaration, they seek to make Our People beleeve some such thing, to bee proved in the Depositions now published, wherein We doubt not, they will as much fail as they do in their Censure of that Petition shewed formerly to Vs by Captain *Legg*, and subscribed by Vs with *C. R.* which notwithstanding Our full and particular Narration of the substance of that Petition, the circumstances of Our seeing and approving it, this Declaration is pleased to say, was full of scandall to the Parliament, and might have proved dangerous to the whole Kingdome. If they have this dangerous Petition in their hands, We have no reason to beleeve any tendernesse to Vs-ward hath kept them from communicating it; If they have it not, we ought to have bin beleeved: But that all good people may compute their other pretended dangers by their cleer understanding of this, the noyse whereof hath not been inferiour to any of the rest, We have recovered a true Copy of the very Petition We signed with *C. R.* which shall in fit time be published, and which, Wee hope, will open the eyes of Our good People.

Concerning Our warrant for Master *Iermyns* passage, Our answer was true and full; But for his black Sattin Suit, and white boots, Wee can give no account.

We

We complained in Our Declaration, and as often as we have occaſion to mention Our returne and reſidence neere *London*, We ſhall complaine of the barberous and ſeditious Tumults at *Weſtminſter* and *White-hall*, which indeed were ſo full of ſcandall to Our Government, and danger to Our Perſon, that We ſhall never think of Our returne thither, till wee have Iuſtice for what is paſt, and ſecurity for the time to come. And if there were ſo great a neceſſity, or deſire of Our Returne as is pretended in all this time, upon ſo often preſſing Our Deſires, and upon cauſes ſo notorious, We ſhould at leaſt have procured ſome Order for the future. But that Declaration tells Vs, Wee are upon the matter miſtaken, The reſort of the Citizens to *Weſtminſter*, was as lawfull as the reſort of great numbers every day in the Terme to the ordinary Court of Iuſtice. They knew no Tumults, Strange! Was the diſorderly appearance of ſo many thouſand people with Staves and Swords crying thorow the Streets, *Weſtminſter* Hall, the paſſage betweene both Houſes (inſomuch as the Members could hardly paſſe to and fro) No Biſhops, Downe with the Biſhops, no Tumults? What Member is there of either Houſes that ſaw not thoſe numbers, and heard not thoſe cryes? And yet lawfull Aſſemblies: Were not ſeverall Members of either Houſe Aſſaulted, threatned, and ill intreated? And yet no Tumults: why made the Houſe of Peeres a Declaration, and ſent it downe to the Houſe of Commons, for the ſuppreſſing of Tumults, if there were no Tumults? And if there were any, why was not ſuch a Declaration conſented to, and publiſhed? When the attempts were ſo viſible, and the threats ſo loud to pull downe the Abbey at *Weſtminſter*, had not We cauſe to apprehend, That ſuch people might continue their worke to *White-Hall*? Yet no Tumults. What a ſtrange time are we in, That a few Impudent, Malitious (to give them no worſe tearme) men ſhould caſt ſuch a ſtrange miſt of error before the eyes of both Houſes of Parliament, as that they either cannot, or will not ſee how manifeſtly they injure themſelves, by maintaining theſe viſible untruths: We ſay no more; By the help of God and the Law, We will have Iuſtice for thoſe Tumults.

From excepting (how weightily let every man judge) to what Wee have ſaid, that Declaration proceeds to cenſure Vs for what We have not ſaid, for the prudent Omiſſions in Our Anſwer: We forbore to ſay any thing of the words ſpoken at *Kenſington*; or the Articles againſt our deareſt Conſort; and of the Accuſation of the ſixe Members: Of the laſt we had ſpoken often, and We thought enough of the other two; having never accuſed any (though God knowes what truth there might be in either) We have no reaſon to give any particular anſwer.

Wee doe not reckon Our Selfe bereaved of any part of Our Prerogative, which We are pleaſed, for a time, to part with by Bill; yet we muſt ſay, We expreſſed a

great trust in Our two Houses of Parliament, when we divested Our Selfe of the Power of dissolving the Parliament, which was a just, necessary, and proper Prerogative. But Wee are glad to heare their Resolution, that it shall not encourage them to doe any thing, which otherwise had not yet to have beene done: If it doe, it will be such a breach of Trust, God will require an account for at their hands.

For the *Militia*, we have said so much in it heretofore, and the poynt is so well understood by all men, that we will waste time no more in that dispute. We never said, There was no such thing as an Ordinance (though We know that they have been long disused) but that there was never any Ordinance, or can be without the Kings consent; and that is true: and the unnecessary President cited in the Declaration, doth not offer to proove the contrary: But enough of that, God and the Law must determine of that businesse.

Neither hath this Declaration given Vs any satisfaction, concerning the Votes of the fifteenth and sixteenth of March last, which we must declare, and appeale to all the world in the poynt, to bee the greatest violation of Our Priviledge, the Law of the Land, the liberty of the Subject, and the Right of Parliament that can be imagined. One of those votes is (and there needs no other to destroy the King and People) That when the Lords & Commons ('tis well the Commons are admitted to their part in Iudicature) shall declare what the Law of the Land is, the same must be assented to, and obeyed; that is the sence in few words. Where is every mans Property, every mans Liberty? If a major part of both Houses declare that the Law is, that the younger Brother shall inherite, what's become of all the families and Estates in the Kingdome? if they declare, That by the fundamentall Law of the Land, such a rash action, such an unadvised word ought to be punished by perpetuall imprisonment: Is not the Liberty of the Subject, *Durante bene placito*, remedilesse? That Declaration confesseth, They pretend not to a power of making new Lawes. That, without Vs, they cannot doe that: They need no such Power, if their Declaration can suspend this Statute from being obeyed or executed, and make this Order, which is no Statute, to be obeyed and executed. If they have Power to declare the Lord *Digbies* waying on Vs to *Hampton-Court*, and thence visiting some Officers at *Kingston*, with a Coach and sixe Horses, to bee leavying of War, and High Treason: and Sir *John Hotham* defying us to Our face, keeping Our Towne, Fort, and Goods against Vs, by force of *Armes*, to bee an *Act* of *Affection* and Loyalty. What needs a power of making new Laws? Or is there such a thing as Law left? We desire our good subjects to mark the Reason and Consequence of these Votes, the progresse they have already made, and how infinite that progresse may be. First, *They vote the Kingdome is in imminent danger (it is above three moneth since they discerned it) from*

enemies

enemies abroad, and a Popiſh and diſcontented Party at Home; That is matter of Fact; the Law followes: This Vote hath given them Authority by Law (the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome) to order and diſpoſe of the Militia *of the Kingdome, and with this power, and to prevent that Danger, to enter into Our Townes, ſeize upon Our Magazine, and by Force, keep both from Us: Is not this Our caſe? Firſt, they Vote Wee have an intention to leavy Warre againſt Our Parliament; that's matter of fact: Then they declare, Such as ſhall aſſiſt Us, to bee guilty of high Treaſon; that is the Law, and proved by two Statutes, themſelves know to be repealed: No matter for that; They declare it. Vpon this ground they exerciſe the* Militia, *and ſo actually doe that upon Us, which they have voted We intend to doe upon them: Who doth not ſee the confuſion that muſt follow upon ſuch a power of declaring? If they ſhould now Vote, That We did not write this Declaration, but that ſuch a one did it, which is ſtill matter of fact; and then declare, That for ſo doing, he is an enemy to the Common-wealth; what is become of the Law that man was borne to? And if all their zeale for the defence of the Law, be but to defend that which they declare to be Law, their owne Votes, it will not be in their power to ſatisfie any man of their good intentions to the publike peace, but ſuch who are willing to relinquiſh his title to* Magna Charta, *and hold his life and fortune by a Vote of a major part of both Houſes: In a word, Wee deny not but they may have a power to declare in a particular doubtfull caſe regularly brought before them what Law is; but to make a generall Declaration, whereby the knowne Rule of the Law may be croſſed or altered they have no power, nor can exerciſe any, without bringing the life and the liberty of the Subject to a lawleſſe and arbitrary ſubjection.*

We complained (and let the world judge the Iuſtice and neceſſity of that Complaint) of the multitude of ſeditious Pamphlets and Sermons. And that Declaration tells Vs, They know We have wayes enough in our ordinary Courts of Iuſtice to puniſh thoſe: So We have to puniſh Tumults and Riots, and yet they will not ſerve Our turne to keep Our Towns, Our Forreſts, and Parks from violence. And it may be thought thoſe Courts have ſtill the power to puniſh, they may have loſt the skill to define what Riots and Tumults are; otherwiſe a Iury in *Southwarke*, legally impanelled to examine a Riot there, would not have been ſuperſeded, and the Sheriffs enjoyned to proceed, by vertue of an Order of the Houſe of Commons; which it ſeems at that time, had the ſole power of declaring. But it is no wonder, That they who could not ſee the Tumults, doe not conſider the Pamphlets and Sermons, though the Author of the *Proteſtation protected*, be well known to be *Burton* (that infamous diſturber of the Peace of this Church and State) and that he preached it at *Weſtminſter*, in the hearing of divers Members of the Houſe of Commons: But of ſuch Pamphlets, and ſeditious Preachers (divers whereof have beene recommended, if not impoſed upon ſeverall Pariſhes, by ſome Members of both Houſes, by what authority We know not, Wee ſhall hereafter take a further account.

We

Wee confeſſe, We have little skill in the Lawes, and thoſe that have had moſt, VVe now find are much to ſeeke: Yet VVe cannot underſtand or beleeve, That every ordinary Court, or any Court, hath power to raiſe what Guard they pleaſe, and under what Command they pleaſe; Neither can VVee imagine what dangerous effects they found by the Guard VVe appointed them, or (indeed) any the leaſt occaſion why they needed a Guard at all.

But of all the Imputations ſo cauſeleſly and unjuſtly laid upon Us by that Declaration, Wee muſt wonder at that charge ſo apparantly and evidently untrue, That ſuch are continually preferred and countenanced by Us, who are Friends or Favourers, or related unto the chiefe Authors and Actors of that Arbitrary power heretofore practiſed and complained of: And on the other ſide, That ſuch as did appeare againſt it, are daily diſcountenanced and diſgraced. We would know one Perſon that contributed to the Ills of thoſe Times, or had dependance upon thoſe that did, whom We doe, or lately have countenanced or preferred, Nay, We are confident (and We looke for no other at their hands) as they have bin alwaies moſt eminent Aſſertors of the publike Liberties, ſo if they found Us inclined to any thing not agreeable to Honour and Juſtice, they would leave Us to morrow: Whether different Perſons have not, and doe not receive countenance elſewhere, and upon what grounds, let all men Judge; and whether We have not bin forward enough to honour and prefer thoſe of the moſt contrary opinion, how little comfort ſoever We have had of thoſe preferments; in beſtowing of which, hereafter We ſhall be more guided by mens Actions then Opinions: And therefore we had good cauſe to beſtow that admonition of Our owne) upon both Our Houſes of Parliament, to take heed of inclining, under the ſpecious ſhewes of Neceſſity and Danger, to the exerciſe of ſuch an Arbitrary power they before complained of: The advice will doe no harm, and we ſhall be glad to ſee it followed.

And are all the ſpecious Promiſes, and loud Profeſſions, of making Us a Great and Glorious King, Of ſetling a greater Revenue upon Us, then any of Our Anceſtors have enjoyed, Of making Us to be Honoured at home, and Feared abroad, reſolved into this, That they will be ready to ſettle Our Revenue, in an Honourable Proportion, when Wee ſhall put Our Selfe in ſuch a Poſture of Government that Our Subjects may be ſecure to enjoy Our juſt Protection for their Religion, Laws, & Liberties? What Poſture of Government they intend We know not, nor can We imagine what Security Our good Subjects can deſire for their Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, which We have not offered, or fully given. And is it ſutable to the duty and dignity of both Houſes of Parliament to Anſwer Our particular Weighty Expreſſions of the Cauſes of Our Remove from *London* (ſo generally knowne to the Kingdome) with a Scoffe, That they hope We were driven from thence not by Our owne Feares, but by the Feares of the Lord *Digby*, and his Retinue of Cavaliers? Sure the Penner of that Declaration inſerted that ungrave and inſolent Expreſſion (as he hath done divers others) without the conſent or examination of both Houſes; who would not ſo lightly have departed from their former profeſſions of duty to Us.

whether

Whether the way to a good Underſtanding betweene Us and Our people hath bin as zealouſly preſſed by them, as it hath bin profeſſed and deſired by Us, will be eaſily diſcerned by thoſe who obſerve, that We have left no publike Act undone on Our part, which, in the leaſt degree, might be neceſſary to the Peace, Plenty, and Security of Our Subjects, and that they have not diſpatched one Act which hath given the leaſt evidence of their particular Affection and Kindneſſe to Us: But on the contrary, have diſcountenanced and hindred the teſtimony other men would give to Us of their affections: Witneſſe the ſtopping and keeping backe the Bill of Subſidies granted by the Clergy, almoſt a yeare ſince, which though Our perſonall wants are ſo notoriouſly knowne, they will not, to this time, paſſe: So not onely forbearing to ſupply Us themſelves, but keeping the Love and Bounty of other men from Us, and afford no other Anſwers to all Our Deſires, all Our Reaſons (indeed not to be anſwered) then, That Wee muſt not make Our Underſtanding or Reaſon the Rule of Our government, but ſuffer Our Selfe to be aſſiſted (which VVee never denyed) by Our great Councell. VVe require no other Liberty to Our will, then the meaneſt of them doe (VVee wiſh they would alwaies uſe that Liberty) not to conſent to any thing evidently contrary to Our Conſcience and Underſtanding: and VVee have and ſhall alwaies give as much eſtimation and regard to the Advice and Counſell of both Our Houſes of Parliament, as ever Prince hath done: But VVe ſhall never (and VVe hope Our people will never) account the contrivance of a few (Factious, Seditious perſons, a Malignant Party, who would ſacrifice the Common wealth to their owne fury and ambition) the wiſdome of Parliament; and that the juſtifying and defending ſuch perſons (of whom, and of their particular ſiniſter wayes to compaſſe their owne bad ends, VVe ſhall ſhortly informe the world) is not the way to ſerve Parliaments, but is the oppoſing and preferring the conſideration of a few unworthy perſons, before their Duty to their King, or their care of the Kingdome. They would have Us remember that Our Reſolutions doe concerne Kingdoms, and therefore not to be moulded by Our owne Underſtanding: VVe well remember it; But We would have them remember, That when their Conſultations endeavour to leſſen the Office and Dignity of a King, they meddle with that which is not within their determinations, and of which We muſt give an account to God and Our other Kingdoms, and muſt maintaine with the ſacrifice of Our life.

Laſtly, that Declaration tells you of a preſent deſperate and malitious Plot, the Malignant Party is now acting, under the plauſible Notions of ſtirring Men up to a care of preſerving the Kings Prerogative, maintaining the Diſcipline of the Church, upholding and continuing the Reverence and Solemnity of Gods Service, and encouraging Learning, (indeed plauſible and honourable Notions to act any thing upon) and that upon theſe grounds divers mutinous Petitions have bin framed in *London*, *Kent*, and other places. Upon what Grounds would theſe men have Petitions framed? Have ſo many Petitions (even againſt the Forme and

Conſtitution

Constitution of the Kingdome, and the Lawes established) bin joyfully received and accepted? And shall Petitions framed upon these Grounds bee called Mutinous? Hath a multitude of meane, unknowne, inconsiderable, contemptable persons about the City and Suburbs of *London*, had liberty to Petition against the Government of the Church, against the Booke of Common Prayer, against the Freedome and Priviledge of Parliament, and bin thanked for it: And shall it bee called Mutiny in the gravest and best Citizens of *London*, in the Gentry and Comunalty of *Kent*, to frame Petitions upon these grounds; and to desire to be governed by the knowne Lawes of the Land, not by Orders and votes of either, or both Houses? Can this be thought the wisedome and Justice of both Houses of Parliament? Is it not evidently the worke of a Faction within or without both Houses, who deceive the Trust reposed in them, and have now told Us what Mutiny is, to stir Men up to a Care of preserving Our Prerogative, maintaining the Discipline of the Church, upholding and continuing the Reverence and Solemnity of Gods Service, encouraging of Learning is Mutiny? Let Heaven and Earth, God and Man, judge betweene Us and these Men: And however such Petitions are, there called Mutinous, and the Petitioners Threatned, Discountenanced, Censured, and Imprisoned: If they bring such lawfull Petitions to Us, We will graciously receive them, and defend them and their Rights against what power soever, with the uttermost hazard of Our being.

We have bin the longer (to Our very great paine) in this Answer, that Wee might give the world satisfaction, even in the most triviall Particulars which have bin objected against Us: and that We may not bee againe reproached with any more prudent Omissions. If We have bin compelled to sharper Language then We affect, let it be considered, how vile, how insufferable Our Provocations have bin; And except to repell Force be to assault, and to give punctuall and necessary Answers to rough and insolent Demands, be to make Invectives, Wee are confident the world will accuse Us of too much Mildnesse; and all Our good Subjects will thinke, We are not well dealt with, and will judge of Us, and of their owne happinesse and security in Us by Our Actions; which Wee desire may no longer prosper, or have a blessing from God upon them and Us, then they shall bee directed to the glory of God, in the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, to the preservation of the Property, and the Liberty of the Subject, in the observation of the Lawes, and the maintenance of the Rights and Freedome of Parliament, in the allowance and protection of all their just Priviledges.

FINIS.